

School Social Work Association of America  
 Service Employees International Union  
 Shaken Baby Alliance  
 Sjogren's Syndrome Foundation  
 Society for Adolescent Medicine  
 Society for Pediatric Research  
 Society for Personality Assessment  
 Society for Public Health Education  
 Society for Research on Child Development  
 Society for Social Work Research  
 Society for Women's Health Research  
 Society of American Gastrointestinal  
 Endoscopic Surgeons  
 Society of Medical Consultants to Armed  
 Forces  
 Society of Professors of Child and Adolescent  
 Psychiatry  
 Society of Thoracic Surgeons  
 South Carolina Medical Association  
 South Dakota State Medical Association  
 STOP IT NOW!  
 Suicide Awareness Voice of Education  
 Suicide Prevention Action Network USA  
 Tennessee Medical Association  
 Texas Medical Association  
 The Arc of the United States  
 Title II Community AIDS National Network  
 Tourette Syndrome Association  
 Treatment and Research Advancements As-  
 sociation of Personality Disorder  
 Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
 Unitarian Universalist Association of Con-  
 gregations  
 United Cerebral Palsy Association  
 United Church of Christ, Justice and Witness  
 Ministry  
 United Jewish Communities  
 United Methodist General Board of Church  
 and Society  
 Utah Medical Association  
 Vermont Medical Society  
 Volunteers of America  
 Washington State Medical Association  
 Wellstone Action  
 West Virginia State Medical Association  
 Wisconsin Medical Society  
 Working Assets  
 Women of Reform Judaism  
 Wyoming Medical Society  
 Yellow Ribbon Suicide Prevention Program  
 Youth Law Center

#### RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, leadership time is reserved.

#### MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there now will be a period for the transaction of morning business until 10:40 a.m. with the first 22 minutes under the control of the Senator from Kansas, Mr. ROBERTS, or his designee; the following 22 minutes under the control of the Senator from Florida, Mr. GRAHAM, or his designee; the following 22 minutes under the control of the majority leader or his designee; and the final 22 minutes under the control of the Senator from California, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, or her designee. Under the unanimous consent agreement just entered, this time shall not be diminished by the minority leader having used his time.

The Senator from Kansas is recognized.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, Senator GRAHAM and I have conferred. He has a scheduling conflict. So I ask

unanimous consent that he be recognized first. I think that is his intent.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Senator from Florida is recognized for 22 minutes.

Mr. GRAHAM of Florida. Mr. President, I thank my friend and colleague for his graciousness. I also commend him for the leadership he has been providing to this body, particularly as the chair of the Intelligence Committee. That is the subject of my remarks today.

#### THE NEED FOR INTELLIGENCE REFORM, PART III

Mr. GRAHAM of Florida. Mr. President, during this week, I have spoken—and this will be the third statement—about the need to reform our Nation's intelligence agencies. I have suggested that the horrific acts of September 11, 2001—acts which killed nearly 3,000 Americans in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania—could have been avoided if our intelligence agencies had been more organized and more focused in dealing with the threat of international terrorism. These conclusions were largely the result of the work of the House-Senate joint inquiry on September 11, 2001. This bicameral, bipartisan committee finished its investigation on December 20, 2002, and filed its report. In that report, it concluded there were a number of problems with our existing intelligence networks and it made 19 recommendations of how to fix those problems.

Repairing the flaws in our intelligence community is a matter of national security, a matter of the highest importance and urgency. As we are now learning in the context of the war with Iraq and Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction, policymakers cannot make wise decisions affecting the security of American people without timely, accurate, credible information, and tough-minded, independent analysis, and will use that information to shape the judgments of the President and other decisionmakers, not to validate previously held opinions. If we fail to accurately perceive future threats, we will be poorly prepared to respond to them. If we do not perceive current threats accurately, then our response may be either inadequate or excessive.

Whether restraining the development of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or interdicting terrorists, now, more than ever, intelligence matters. If there is another terrorist attack on American soil, the American people will demand to know what the Congress, what the President, what other governmental institutions learned from the September 11 attacks, and now the prewar intelligence in Iraq, and how that information was used to protect them. There will be no avoidance of accountability for the next attack, either for Congress or the President. We must take our responsibility seriously.

Further, we must recognize that every day needed intelligence reforms are delayed is a day of unnecessary risk for the American people. Unfortunately, with regard to the recommendations of the joint inquiry committee, very little has been accomplished to date. In my two previous statements, I discussed the status of these recommendations dealing with the intelligence community reform and specific responses to terrorism. I particularly commend Senator DIANNE FEINSTEIN for her leading role in the area of reorganization of the intelligence community.

Today I will turn to two additional areas of particular concern: the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the application of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, or FISA, which governs the use of electronic eavesdropping on foreign nationals in the United States. Here, I particularly recognize the contributions of Senators DEWINE, DURBIN, EDWARDS, and KYL to this section of our report.

We know now the FBI did not have or did not give adequate attention and resources to the problem of terrorism prior to September 11, 2001. For the FBI, terrorism was a lesser priority and its personnel did not understand the FISA and therefore did not use effectively its available investigative authority. Important information was not shared with other agencies, was not shared even within the various branches of the FBI itself. During the summer of 2001, separate parts of the FBI had information that could have been used to disrupt or destroy al-Qaida's hijacking plot, but that information was never collectively analyzed.

For example, what agents in Minnesota knew about Zacaria Moussaoui, the so-called twentieth hijacker who was taken into custody in August of that year, is he was studying to fly commercial airlines but was disinterested in either taking them off or landing them. Meanwhile, a Phoenix field agent of the FBI had become suspicious of radical Islamists who were also learning to fly airplanes. An agent in San Diego was working with an informant who knew at least two of the hijackers. The informant was aware that one of the future hijackers was moving to Arizona with a fellow terrorist—again to attend flight school.

If these agents had been aware of each other's activities or if the analysts at FBI headquarters had connected these geographically separate events, portions of the September 11 plot might well have been uncovered and disrupted. Unfortunately, the FBI lacked the sufficient number of analysts to process all the relevant information, and barriers to sharing information prevented agents from learning about each other's activities, even though both the Phoenix memo which expressed concern that bin Laden was sending young recruits to the United States for pilot training and the